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SOME METHODS

To ſupply the

DEFECTS

Of the late

PEACE,

Without entring into a New

WAR.

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SOME

METHODS

TO

Supply the Defects of the late Peace, without entring into a new War.

IN all other Diſputes about the late Treaty of *Peace* with *France*, I find little ſpoken of, but what relates to its being *a good*, or *a bad Peace*: One Side Call it a Treacherous Traiterous *French Peace*, and that the People ought to be brought to Juſtice that made it: The other Side ſay it was a good *Peace*, a neceſſary *Peace*, a fair *Peace*, and the People who made it

deſerve to have Statues of Braſs Erected in Honour of their Perſons and Memory.

I ſhall ſay nothing to this, one way or other, but that it is *a Peace*, and thus every one will allow me; I mean, that it was a Tranſaction finiſh'd. A Treaty ſigned, Ratified, Exchang'd, and having all the uſual Formalities of a finiſh'd Treaty: It is now *a Peace* to all Intents and Purpoſes, as much as it would have been, if it had been an Hundred-Fold, as much with our Advantage, as it is now thought to be to our Hurt.

Be it then a good or a bad *Peace*, it is not the Cuſtom of *Britain* to break and deny a Treaty, when Sign'd and Ratify'd. Breach of Treaties we Charge on the *French*, and Eſteem it a mark of Infamy, which that Court is juſtly Branded with and Diſtinguiſh'd by, that they keep no Treaties, when they ceaſe to be for their Advantage.

But if I miſtake not the Principles of honour, as well national as perſonal, to ſay thoſe who made the Peace, betray'd their Country, tho' it may be true, is yet no ſufficient Reaſon for a Nation to break their Peace: But if the Peace was really, actually

actually and in Form, made, finiſh'd, ratify'd, and exchang'd, as Treaties of *Peace* are made, and that this was done by the Sovereign for the Time being, in whom the Right of *Peace* and *War* is granted to be: I do not ſee how its being a bad *Peace*, can give us any lawful Pretence to break it; Neither do I ſee that his Majeſty, or any of the wiſeſt and beſt of his Council have any Thoughts that way. On the other Hand, I think thoſe who have ſuggeſted ſuch things, have done it with a Deſign to miſrepreſent both the King and the Government, and are juſtly to be reckoned among thoſe People mentioned in the King's Speech, *Who would deprive his Majeſty of the Bleſſing which he moſt values*, viz. *The Affections of his People*: And I muſt add, that thoſe who would do that, *I think*, are as much their Countries Enemies as the King's.

If the *French* King encourag'd by our Diviſions, or preſuming upon his having diſſolv'd that Confederacy which was ſo fatal to him, or upon his being ſtrengthened by the advanc'd Circumſtances of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, or what ever other Reaſon may move him, ſhall think fit to be Agreſſor, whether by not Executing

cuting any of the Conditions of, or by attempting things which he is limited from by the ſaid Treaty, or any other way, in the Name of GOD, let us defend our ſelves againſt every Violence, every Encroachment, and ſcourge him as ſeverely as poſſible. As he is not ſo inconſiderable, that we ſhould break with him upon the meer preſumption of Victory without Cauſe; ſo neither is he ſo conſiderable that we ſhould be afraid to reſent the freſh Invaſion of the Articles the firſt Contravention on his ſide, or to right our ſelves by the help of GOD and our Arms.

Seeing then that this is our Caſe, and that the Nation is bound by the *Peace*, whether good or bad, and that we can not go from it, methinks it is an Enquiry worthy every Man, who is a Friend to his Country, how and in what manner the Defects of this *Peace* may be in the beſt manner made up and ſupplied. The *Peace*, ſuch as it is, be rendred as uſeful to *Britain*, as it may, and the Enemy ſuffered to reap no more Advantages by it, than are neceſſarily and unavoidably the Conſequences of the Conditions.

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This Enquiry, I hope, may be of Uſe to us, and if ſome Methods may be found out to ſupply the Defects of this great Tranſaction, tho' the Men who made it are neither excuſed nor exonerated by it, yet the ill Conſequences to the Nation may be in ſome Meaſure avoided, and every way the *Peace* may be made more advantageous to us, than otherwiſe it can be.

The firſt and moſt Eſſential Objection I find juſtly made againſt the *Peace*, is, that it is precarious in its Continuance, that the *French* having a Breathing time, will recover his Strength, and by the Addition of *Spain* to the Houſe of *Bourbon*, will be ſtronger and richer than ever: And to this let me add, that tho' *France* will recover her ſelf by Peace, *WE as our Affairs are Situated*, cannot; our Funds being all appropriated, and every thing on which Money can be raiſed, *the Land and Malt Tax excepted*, Mortgaged for a long time to come; ſo that unleſs ſome Medium not yet thought of can be found, we can be in no Condition for a New War, till thoſe Funds are run out, ſome whereof, and of the moſt conſiderable

ſiderable, are for 90 Years to come, not redeemable by Parliament.

My Anſwers to this, are in part happily anticipated, even while I am writing this by the Words of his Majeſty's Speech from the Throne, *viz. That Defenſive Alliances muſt be found to ſecure the Performances of the Peace by Guarantee.*

If I may preſume to Comment on the Words of our Sovereign, it ſhall be thus briefly and with the greateſt Deference to his Majeſty, *viz.* That there is no doubt, but ſuch Alliances *may be made*, as may Guarrantee the preſent Treaties, and that then the Performance ſhall no more be Precarious: But that if the *French* King does not think fit duly to Execute the Conditions, ſuch Alliances may ſtrengthen us ſufficiently to oblige him to it: Or on the other Hand, that if ſuch Alliances can be found, the *French* King will know himſelf better than to delay any longer the *due Execution* of the Conditions of our late Treaties, and that this therefore will be effectual to make him perform what is his part to do.

It may, I hope, with great Modeſty, then be ſaid, that part of the Deficiency

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of the *Peace*, conſiſts in the Conditions of it's not being duly Executed by the Enemy.

Suppoſe for the Purpoſe, I ſhould preſume to ſay, that one of the Conditions of the late *Peace*, which his Majeſty mentions *as not duly Executed*, was the not compleatly ruining the Harbour of *Dunkirk*, and the opening a new Channel at *Mardyke*, whether with Fortifications or without matters not to me. I do not preſume to ſay that this is one of the Conditions, *&c.* intended in the King's ſaid Speech; for I will not pretend to explain his Majeſty's meaning; but I think it reaſonable to believe it may be ſo, becauſe of what his Majeſty adds in his Speech, *viz. That ſome Conditions, even of this Peace, Eſſential to the Security and Trade of* Great Britain, *are not yet duly Executed.*

If then the Harbour of *Dunkirk* is not ſufficiently fill'd up, or the Works ſufficiently demoliſhed, things which have been always thought *Eſſential to our Security and Trade*: Whether this reflects upon the *Peace* or not, is not the queſtion before me, but the taking effectual Meaſures to have this performed accord-

ing to the true intent and meaning of the Treaty, is certainly the great Buſineſs of the Nation at this time. For were the *Peace* better than it is, yet if the Conditions are not performed, it is then no *Peace* at all to us; and the People who made the *Peace* will *turn the Tables upon us*, and ſay they made the *Peace* in ſuch and ſuch Terms, which would then and there have ſecur'd our Trade, and removed the Enemy at a farther Diſtance from the Coaſt, but being remov'd from the Adminiſtration, it lies on the preſent Government, to demand the Execution of the Conditions, and if for want of that Demand, the Enemy take that Advantage, the fault is not theirs.

Again, if the *French* King has built or ſhall offer to build New Works, and make a new Port at *Mardyke* in the Neighbourhood of *Dunkirk*; and if this, as we ſay, is a Contravention of the true Intention and Meaning of the *Peace*, and particularly of the Reaſon of the Allies inſiſting upon the Demoliſhing *Dunkirk*, may not the Methods which his Majeſty has plainly guided us to in his Speech, and which as above, have happily anticipated what I had to ſay on this Head,

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be effectual to put a ſtop to thoſe Works.

I know it is Objected here, that the *French* King has ſuch a handle to take hold of, in the pretence of making a Paſſage for the Water, and the neceſſity there is for draining the Country, which we can not anſwer or refuſe him. But this has an eaſy and plain Anſwer, *viz.* That whatever Paſſages, Openings, Canals, *&c.* are neceſſary for the dreining the Country, is nothing to us, neither will the Allies in the leaſt Concern themſelves therein, provided, neither Fortification nor Navigation be broughtinto the Caſe.

It is Evident, that the Reaſon of the Allies inſiſting ſo firmly on all Occaſions of Treaty with *France*, that the Port as well as the Fortifications of *Dunkirk*, ſhould be demoliſhed, was, becauſe they found it dangerous to them and to their Commerce, to admit the *Fr.* to have a naval Force ſo far advanc'd on the Coaſt as that in Time of War, they lay always ready to fall upon the Trade of the Confederates, and had a ſafe Retreat from the Purſuit of our Ships; alſo, that the Advantages which

accru'd to the *French* by the Commerce of *Dunkirk*, was found greatly to prejudice the Trade of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, eſpecially in the *Low-Countries*. Theſe, I ſay, were the Reaſons, why it was inſiſted on, that that the Harbour of *Dunkirk*, as well as the Works to the Landward, ſhould be demoliſh'd and ruin'd.

If the *French* think to diſtinguiſh between the Letter of the Treaty, and the true Intent and Meaning of it, the moſt natural Conſtruction, and that which was declar'd to be intended by it, even at the Time of Treating, and on that frivolous Pretence, put themſelves into the very ſame individual Circumſtance, both as to Strength and Commerce, as they were in before, it muſt be very juſt to ſay, that the Conditions of the Treaty are *not duly executed.*

And whether this be a Defect of the Treaty, or a Chicane of the *French* Court, to make themſelves amends for that ſevere Article of demoliſhing *Dunkirk*, I ſhall not diſcourſe now, but this muſt be ſaid, that many, even of thoſe who were well enough pleaſed with the Peace, and who by no Means condem-

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ned the Makers of it, yet look upon this Step of the *French* King as a moſt unſufferable Affront to the *Britiſh* Nation, that could be put upon it, and both hope and earneſtly deſire, that a Stop may be put to it.

No doubt, but the making ſtrong Alliances abroad, is the immediate Courſe to bring the King of *France* to put a Stop to this new Undertaking, or to give it ſuch a Turn, as we may be aſſur'd it ſhall never be applied either to Commerce or Defence. A King of *Great-Britain*, made formidable by the Union of his Subjects at home, and fortify'd with ſufficient Alliances abroad, is able, God be prais'd, to ſpeak a Language, at this Time, that the *French* King will not care to hear. If his Majeſty is well ſupported abroad, as he is already, God be thank'd, well eſtabliſhed at home, and ſhall be pleaſed to ſend Word to the King of *France*, That the true Intent and Meaning of the Treaty of Peace being as above, that the ſaid King or his Subjects ſhould have neither Force nor Commerce in that Part of the Channel, and that therefore, if he does not think fit to put a Stop to the

ſaid

ſaid Works at *Mardyke*, his Majeſty and his powerful Confederates ſhould take it for a Breach of the Peace; or to that Purpoſe; There is no Doubt, I think, that he that would give up ſo terrible a Place as *Dunkirk* was, to obtain a Peace, will much more eaſily part with his new projected Works at *Mardyke* to preſerve that Peace. And thus the Defects of the Peace, with Reſpect to *Dunkirk*, may be ſupplied, *we hope*, without putting the Nation to the Expence of a new War upon that Occaſion.

Come we next to the Affairs of *Majorca* and the *Catalans*, who, as is the Opinion of many, ought to have been ſupported againſt the Cruelty and Tyranny of *Philip* V. of *Spain*, I take no Notice of the Arguments on either Side, nor enquire whether *Great-Britain* was in Honour engaged to have ſupported the People of *Barcelona*, or not?

But if it ſhall be thought reaſonable to take them ſtill into the Protection of our Government, I ſee no need of any other Step than this, to let the King of *France* know, that his aiding the *Spaniſh* King to reduce them by Force, is inconſiſtent with the Treaty of Peace, by

which

which the Priviledges of that brave People were reſerved to them, and letting him know, that if he does not think fit to withdraw his Troops out of *Spain*, as by Treaty the Emperor did out of *Catalonia*, that in ſuch Caſe, the Allies will take it for a Declaration of War, and will be obliged to aſſiſt the People of *Mojorca* and *Catalonia* with all their Forces.

It will hardly be ſaid, but that if ſuch a Step ſhould be taken by the Allies at this Time, the *French* King who hazarded ſo much to maintain his Grandſon in the Poſſeſſion of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, and gain'd too great a Point when he obtained the Conceding that Monarchy to him by the Confederates, would perſwade King *Philip*, either to give the *Majorcans* the Priviledges they demand, or leave them an entire, free People, rather than by a new War with ſuch Enemies as they well know they are no Match for, run again the Riſque of being diſpoſſeſt of *Spain* it ſelf.

I might add, that a Step like this, would effectually retrieve the Honour of *Great-Britain*, in not having ſufficiently ſupported the *Catalans*, ſeeing it is evident

evident, that if the *Spaniards* were not ſupported by the *French*, they not only would never have been able to reduce the *Majorcans*, but the *Catalans* themſelves would recover themſelves, and maintain their Privileges againſt the whole Power of *Spain*.

And tho' I would not in this lead the Government in any of theſe Things, yet I will ſay this, That if the Treaty with *Spain* admits the ſupporting the *Majorcans*, I am perſwaded, that an *Engliſh* Squadron appearing in the Road, would effectually prevent any Attempt, either *French* or *Spaniards* could make upon that Iſland. I am not to determine here, whether the Treaty of Peace allotting that Iſland to the Dominion of King *Philip*, we can lawfully intermeddle between the Subjects and their Sovereign; but I think there is no Doubt to be made, but that we may very lawfully oblige the *French* to forbear on one Hand, as we forbear on the other.

King *Philip*, or any Advocate for him, will be aſhamed to ſay, that the whole *Spaniſh* Monarchy is not a Match for the Iſland of *Majorca*, but that he muſt call

call in the Aid of the King of *France* to reduce a little fiſhing Town, and an Iſland not ſo big as the County of *Surry*. If the King of *France* intermeddles on one Hand, the Confederates are not excluded on the other. If he ſays he is only an Auxiliary to the King of *Spain*; and that it is granted by all Nations, that a neutral Prince may lend Troops, Money, or Navies to any of the Powers concerned in a War, without Breach of his Neutrality, or becoming party to their Quarrels, as was the Caſe of the *Danes* in the laſt War, to whoſe Cavalry, and their ſeaſonable coming into the Army, even in the very Moment of Action, the great Victory at *Ramellies* was owing. By the ſame Rule of Argument it muſt be granted, that *Great Britain* may aſſiſt the *Majorcans*, at the Inſtance, Expence, and Procuration either of the Emperor, or of themſelves, and may act againſt the *Spaniards* in Behalf of the ſaid *Majoreans*, without any Breach of the Neutrality, which is allow'd to ſubſiſt as it was before.

The great Preliminary, which I lay down in all theſe Things, is this, That it is the undoubted preſent Intereſt of

his Majeſty and this whole Kingdom, to put Things in ſuch a Poſture, either by Alliance abroad, or Meaſures at home, *or rather by both*, as that *Great-Britain* may be reſtored to the Figure it ought to make in the Courts of *Europe*, and become formidable to the Enemies of the Confederacy. Nothing but this will give a Weight to what ſhall be offer'd from hence, and when the Enemies of our Nation ſee our Strength abroad, and Unanimity at home, then our Words ſhall be as loud as our Cannon, and we ſhall be regarded in the World after another Manner than we have been yet, or at leaſt, than we have been formerly.

Wherefore, by the Way, to make a weighty Digreſſion here, Nothing can give Weight to the Nation, nothing can make the Language of *Britain* truly terrible, till we can ſay, we are a united Nation, univerſally imbark'd in the Intereſt of his Majeſties Perſon, and that of his People, which is all one. It is evident at this Time, that the greateſt Hopes the Enemy of this Nation now entertains, is in our Diviſions: His Majeſty has touch'd this likewiſe in his Speech,

Speech, that the *Pretender*, who is in *Lorrain*, *promiſes himſelf great Aſſiſtance from among us*, and in this lies the only *Danger of the Pretender*. For if we are unanimous at home, true and hearty for the King, and for ſupporting his Majeſties Government, leave it to him to ſtrengthen us with Alliances from abroad. Not *Lorrain*, nor *France*, nor all the Popiſh Powers of Europe would be able to hurt us.

Nothing but Union at home can make us formidable abroad; nothing but Diviſion at home can weaken us abroad; not all the foreign Alliances the King can make, will give us a Weight in the World ſuitable to what the preſent Exigence calls for, if we are not united at home. If we are for pulling one another to pieces at home, who will league with us abroad? What Value will our Alliance be of to any Confederate, when it ſhall be told them, the *Britiſh* are ſo full of Diviſion and Parties, that they are not to be depended upon.

How this Union among our ſelves is to be obtained, is worth our Enquiry. It is eaſie to tell how it is not to be obtained, while we are daily roproaching

one another with Parties, and with the Sides we have, or we have not taken in the former Reign, what Hope is there of uniting?

One Party ſays, You are for the Pretender, and you are for the Pretender, you are no Friend to King *George*, you are not for the Proteſtant Succeſſion, you are for the Peace and for the *French* Trade, you are an Enemy of your Country, we will have Nothing to do with you.

Another Party ſays, You are for Blood, nothing but Revenge is in your View, you are for engroſſing all the Places and Profits, you are for letting in Foreigners among us, and keeping up a ſtanding Army in Time of Peace, for doubling our Taxes, and for puſhing us into a new War to aggrandize your Party, you are Friends to Phanaticks, and for letting in Scifmaticks and Hereticks among us, you are Enemies to the Church, and the Church is in Danger, we will have nothing to do with you.

As the bleſſed Apoſtle ſays, while one ſays, *I am for* Paul, and another, *I am for* Apollo, *Are ye not carnal*? So I ſay, while thus one ſays, *I am for the* Hanover

ver *Succeſſion*, and another, *I am for the Church*, Are ye not mad? Is not the *Hanover* Succeſſion, and the Church built upon one and the ſame Foundation, *to wit*, to Conſtitution; I ſpeak as to the Church's civil Security. What fooliſh, empty Notions have our People embroil'd themſelves about! No Man in his right Wits can be a Friend to the Church of *England*, but he muſt be a Friend to the *Hanover* Succeſſion; and no Man can be a Friend to the *Hanover* Succeſſion, but he is imbark'd by Intereſt and Principle in Defence of the Ch. of *England*. For this Reaſon, were I the greateſt *Tory* or *Jacobite* in *Britain*, I muſt ſay it is an Abſurdity that can never be put into reaſonable Words, to ſay, *the Church is in danger by the Adminiſtration of a King of the Houſe of* Hanover, unleſs they will at the ſame Time bring in his Majeſties undermining his own Throne and Family with his one Hands, and deſtroying his own Eſtabliſhment with his Eyes open and awake, which, as it would be unmannerly, would alſo be ridiculous.

Whither can the Houſe of *Hanover* look for a religious Eſtabliſhment, but

to

to the Church of *England*? And whither can the Church of England look for a Security, but to the Houſe of *Hanover*? Let me take theſe a-part a little.

Were we to grant, what ſome Men weakly, and I fear, wickedly ſuggeſt, that the Princes of the Houſe of *Hanover* were Enemies to the Church of *England*, or to put it more modeſtly, as ſome others do, that they were not Friends to the Church of *England*: Let us enquire then, by what Intereſt do they propoſe to ſtand? The Diſſenters, the Presbyterians, whether *Engliſh* or *Scots*, as they are neither able to ſupport the Crown without the Church, ſo are they not in the leaſt uneaſy at the Church's being the Governing Intereſt, ſo that they enjoy the Settlements of one, and the Toleration of the other Part of them, and were eaſed of ſome new Burdens, which thoſe who laid them upon them got nothing by, and thoſe on whom they were laid, gave no Reaſon for.

As the Diſſenters are not conſiderable enough to ſupport the Government without

without the Church, leſs are they able to ſupport it againſt the Church; and none can be ſo weak, as well as unjuſt, to ſuggeſt, they would join Intereſt with the *Jacobite* Party againſt the Church.

If I were to grant, (which I cannot do by any Means) that the Diſſenters were Enemies to the civil Eſtabliſhment of the Church, yet no Man will deny, but that they are utterly inconſiſtent with a Jacobite Eſtabliſhment and a Popiſh Church. The Diſſenters then can not be in the Deſign; the King may indulge his diſſenting Subjects as far as the Law directs, and may ſee Reaſon to grant them ſome Marks of his Eſteem, as far as his Majeſty may think they are faithful Subjects that deſerve his Favour: But to ſuggeſt from thence, that either the Diſſenters themſelves, and much leſs his Majeſty, can be imbark'd in Deſigns dangerous to the Church, is ſo weak, ſo groundleſs, and ſo eminently malicious a Calumny, that I can by no Means think it will prevail on the Minds of any Proteſtant, unleſs it be ſuch as are politically prejudiced, and have Ends to anſwer which I care not to name.

It is manifeſt, his Majeſty has not only ſworn to the Church, profeſ'sd his Reſolution to ſupport the Church, and become a Member of the Communion of the Church, but it is his clear undoubted Safety and Intereſt to ſtand by the Church. Nay, ſpeaking with Duty and Deference to the King, His Majeſty has no other Intereſt in this Nation which is able to eſtabliſh his Throne, but that of the Church of *England*: I do not mention the civil Eſtabliſhment, becauſe in this Reſpect it is all one; the Conſtitution of this Nation is one Parliamentary Eſtabliſhment, in which, the Civil and Religious Rights of the Kingdom are blended together, and ſo twiſted one into another, that it is impoſſible to ſeparate them, or that one can be maintained if the other are deſtroy'd. No Prince that ever attempted to deſtroy them, or ſeparate them, could ever proſper. We have had Kings, who would have ſeparated them, but they found it dangerous to attempt, impracticable in the Scheme, and ſome of them found their Deſtruction in carrying on the Deſign. Once a King attempted the Civil

Rights

Rights, and yet zealouſly eſpouſed the Church of *England*: but the very Overthrow of the civil Frame, pull'd King and Church down along with it, and left the Conſtitution in Ruins for ſome Years. After this, a King pretending to preſerve our civil Rights, ſeparated himſelf ſecretly from the Ch. and gave her Intereſt up to the Papiſts, but it put the whole Nation into Diſorder; he ſaw the Impracticableneſs of the Scheme, and gave it over, making not one Convert to the *Romiſh* Church but himſelf, and even that he never durſt own, till he was juſt quitting that Crown, which, had his Meaſures ſucceeded, would have been raviſh'd from him upon the Overthrow of the Church.

After this, we had a King, who finding there was no ſeparating them, reſolv'd upon the Overthrow of the whole Conſtitution together, both civil and religious, and ſo far he found he was in the Right; for he found by long Experience, that if he reſolv'd to drop the *Church*, he muſt drop his *Crown* too, unleſs he could ſet his Foot alſo upon the Laws, knowing, that nothing but

Tyranny could ſupport Popery, and either the Nation muſt be conquered, or the Church could not be ſuppreſſed.

Theſe Examples ſufficiently confirm the Poſition, *viz.* That it is impoſſible the King, or any King of the *Hanover* Succeſſion, can be an Enemy to the Church, without being an Enemy to his own Crown, Family, and People. And as no one can ſuggeſt this of the King, I think it is a moſt incongruous Charge to ſay, *That the Church is in Danger.*

It cannot be taken for Flattery, to ſay, That his Majeſty is a Prince whoſe Eyes want to be opened to ſee his own Intereſt, (the Author of this is not making his Court to any, and if he were, he knows too well how odious ſuch Flattery would be to a Prince of any Judgment) but the preſent Buſineſs is, to open our own Eyes, to ſee how inconſiſtent theſe things are. As it would be Flattery to ſay, the King does not want to have his Eyes opened, ſo it would be injurious as well as inſolent, to ſay, his Majeſty is blind, and does not ſee the true State of the Caſe.

His Majeſty knows, and cannot but know the Conſtitution of the Kingdom he

he is come to govern: and tho' his Family are by Birth of another Country, yet his Concern in this has been too much, not to make the Enquiry into our Conſtitution natural to them all; and his Majeſty, in the very firſt Steps he took, upon his Acceſſion, acquainted us all, that the Support of the Church of *England* was his immediate Care, as it was that next and immediately joyn'd to the Support of his Crown.

I cannot but think his Majeſty has his Eye upon this in his Speech to the Parliament, when he is pleaſed to mention *the wicked Inſinuations* of ſome, to rob him *of the Affections of his People*; I muſt needs ſay, there could ſcarce be found out a nearer way, entirely to alieniate the Affections of his People from the Perſon of the King, than to perſwade them to believe, that he was an Enemy to the Church; and therefore, it is every Subject's Duty, in his Place, to do what Reaſon offers, to remove the Foundations of ſuch a Slander. Nay, ſeeing the Thing in its Nature is ſo unjuſtifiable, I think thoſe People who ſeem moſt diſſatisfied with things at this time, can do themſelves no Service

by this Attempt, becauſe, when the Fraud is detected, it muſt neceſſarily appear offenſive to honeſt Men, for no Cauſe or Party ought to be defended or ſupported at the Expence of Truth and Verrue. And were I an Enemy to the Perſon of the King, yet if I was a juſt Man and a Chriſtian, I could not promote the Opinion which I ſee many propagate at this Time, that the Church is in Danger : I know no Danger the Church can be in, but what muſt have its Foundation in Popery and the Pretender ; and I hope, our Danger of them is not at preſent any Part of our Concern.

Again, as the Houſe of *Hanover*, now poſſeſt of the Crown, can have no Security *but in* the Eſtabliſhment of the *Church of England*, *So neither* can the Church of *England* have any Safety but in the *Hanover Succeſſion*. Were there other claiming Succeſſors, who were bred Proteſtants, and were known to eſpouſe a Proteſtant Intereſt, and whoſe Title admitted any Debate, ſomething might be ſaid againſt this. But whether ſhall the Church of *England* have Recourſe, but to the Houſe of *Hanover* ? Will any one ſuggeſt the Church of *England* ſhall be in Danger under a Proteſtant Prince, and fly for ſafety to a Papiſt ? Nothing ſo prepoſterous can be thought of without Self-Contradiction. No Church of *England* Proteſtant can be a Jacobite, without

without renouncing all the juſt Concern he can be ſuppoſed to have for the Church, and being willing to abandon the Church to Popery, as well as the Nation to Tyranny.

The Debate of Parties, therefore, ſince the Acceſſion of the King to the Throne, ſeems to be chang'd entirely from what it was in the late Reign. In the Time of the late Reign, the Diſpute was about Peace and War, and the Parties were Three, the old Miniſtry, the new Miniſtry, and the Jacobites. How far it is or it is not true, that the two laſt joyned together, and made but one Party, I have nothing to do with in this Diſcourſe, only thus far I may ſay, that *tho' it was true*, that all the Jacobites were for the new Miniſtry, perhaps to a Man, *yet it was not true*, that all that were for the new Miniſtry were Jacobites: But this by the Bye.

The preſent Diviſion among us, I ſay, begins to have a new Face, and there is no eſſential Diviſion of Parties now, but this, *viz.* Who is for King *George*, and who for the *Pretender*? For tho' it was otherwiſe in the laſt Reign, as I have ſaid, yet now he that is not for King *George*, is and muſt be for the *Pretender*, or for no King at all. To ſay we are for the Church, and not for the King, is a Contradiction in the Nature of Things. No King *George*, no *Church*; no *Church*, no King *George*: Or, in a Word,

If

If the *Pretender* is the Word, neither the King, nor the Church of *England* can have any Exiſtence ; and therefore, to imagine the Church of *England* can ſtand, if the King now on the Throne be not acknowledg'd, is to ſay, the Church of *Rome* is the Security of the Church of *England*.

By the Church of England here, I mean, and deſire ſo to be underſtood, the religious Part of the Conſtitution in *Britain*, not the Church in Oppoſition to Proteſtants, but in Oppoſition to Popery: And *by the King*, I mean not his Majeſty reſtricted and perſonal only, but the Royal Family of *Hanover*, on whoſe Proteſtant Race the Crown is entail'd : For the King may die, nay, muſt deceaſe, *Long may it be firſt*, and God forbid the Eſtabliſhment of the Proteſtant Religion in *Britain*, ſhould diſſolve with his Majeſty's Life. But take away the Race of the Proteſtant Line of the Royal Family, and I would ask any ſincere Church of *England* Man, What Proſpect can ye have of the Eſtabliſhment of Religion ? Suppoſe the *Pretender* in his Grave, hang'd, or what you pleaſe, are there any, is there one Perſon loſt in the World, whoſe Line touches the Royal Blood, but what is a Papiſt ? Whether can the Church of *England* look, if ſhe would overlook the King and his Royal Houſe, and what can any Man propoſe for the Church but Popery,

and

and all Manner of Confuſion, if the Line of his Majeſty's Houſe was to be ſet aſide.

Upon what Principle thoſe Men act, or can act, who call themſelves Church of *England* Proteſtants, and are not Friends to the King and his Succeſſion, I can by no means underſtand? They muſt ceaſe to name the Church of *England* in their Diſcourſe, far it is contrary to Nature, to think, that the Church of *England* can be ſupported by any Hand but that of a Proteſtant, and no ſuch are in the whole Race of Clamants, but in this of the *Hanover* Family.

For this Reaſon, I confeſs, I was not of the Opinion, *ſo much as others were*, in the late Queen's Reign, that there was ſuch Danger of the Pretender, or that ſome Perſons, who acted in publick Stations in theſe Times, had a View to the Pretender, or would have joyn'd in the bringing him in; however, the Suſpicions of others might have more Reaſon to think ſo than I wiſh they had. Likewiſe, to ſuggeſt now the Danger of the Church from his Majeſty's Adminiſtration, were I the greateſt Enemy on the Royal Family that it was poſſible for a Man to be, yet I could not ſatisfy my ſelf to bring ſo inconſiſtent a Story upon the Stage, or to argue on ſo weak a Foundation.

Without Doubt, there is juſt ſo much, more or leſs Danger of the Church of *England*

gland at this Time, as there is more or leſs Reaſon to expect the Pretender; for the Proteſtant Religion has no more, and no other temporal Security, than the Poſſeſſion of the Crown by the Line of *Hanover*. How then is it poſſible *the Church* can be *in Danger* from the King, or from the Line of his Royal Houſe? I do not ſee the Poſſibility, unleſs God, in Judgment to the Nation, ſhould ſuffer any of their Poſterity to turn Papiſts, and even then, ſuch Perſon muſt turn Tyrant too, and keep the Crown by Force; for by the Act of Settlement, ſuch cannot enjoy the Crown of *Great Britain*.

I would willingly make Allowances for Mens Prejudices, and ſpeak as favourably of thoſe I argue againſt as I can. I would willingly allow, that ſome Men ſpeak from a real Concern for the Safety of the Church of *England*, when they join with others in their Complaint of its Danger: But then, methinks, ſuch Men ſhould have ſomething to ſay of what they would have done to remedy the Thing they complain of; for every Complaint of an Evil, which is not made in Order to obtain a Remedy, it is feared, is made from ſome worſe End, and may be ſuppos'd to aim at ſomething more than is expreſs'd. If any have wicked Deſigns to carry on by their Complant of the Church's Danger, if they would thereby alienate the Minds of the People from the

Perſon

Perſon and Government of the King, I muſt ſay their Deſign is wicked; for a true Subject, tho' he may not be favoured by his Sovereign, yet does not preſently endeavour to injure or inſult the Perſon of his Prince, and raiſe Sedition; for every Endeavour to draw off the Affection of the People from their Prince, is in Effect a raiſing Sedition.

If a Subject be either miſrepreſented to the King, or is fallen any Way under his Diſpleaſure, he ought to take it as his Misfortune, and by a conſtant Courſe of Loyalty and Fidelity, and peaceable Behaviour, wait for an Opportunity to convince his Sovereign, that he is not the Man he has been repreſented; and by this Means, he often returns into his Prince's Favour and Service. But we have had in *England* for ſome Years paſt, an unhappy Cuſtom, that as ſoon as Courtiers and Miniſters of State are laid aſide and diſmiſs'd from their Employments, from that Time forward they turn malecontent, cabal and intrigue againſt the Meaſures, and declare open War againſt the Miniſters of State who ſucceed them, to whom they neither will, or can be reconciled, till they are taken into the Miniſtry with them, or over their Bellies.

This is a very unhappy Circumſtance, and is attended with numberleſs ill Conſequences, particularly this I am now ſpeaking, *viz.* Making and ſpreading ſubtil Inſinuations againg the Sincerity, Honour and Character of the Sovereign, and heaping Slander and Calumny upon their Miniſters. The firſt is in Order to make the People uneaſy to their Prince, and the laſt is in Order to bring the Prince under a Neceſſity of changing his Servants.

As theſe are ſiniſter and unjuſtifiable Ends, ſo the making a whole Nation uneaſy, is a moſt pernicious and unjuſtifiable Practice. I enter not into any particulars.

If the preſent Complaint of the Danger of the Church under his Majeſty's Reign ſhould make its Riſe from any of theſe Beginnings, I cannot but ſay, as his Maajeſty's Speech expreſſes it, they are *wicked Inſinuations.* As to thoſe who may be impoſed upon, and innocently, as well as ignorantly believe them, it is for their better Information that I have diſcuſſed that Point, as before, and I would calmly appeal, even to the warmeſt of thoſe who promote theſe ſuggeſted Dangers, and deſire them to tell the World, if they think they can make it good, what other Security the Church of *England* can obtain, than that the Crown ſhould be placed on the Head that now wears it? And how they can ſuggeſt that his Majeſty ſhould not be a ſincere and ſteady Friend to the Church, when they muſt acknowledge, that he himſelf can have no Safety, no Eſtabliſhment, no Security, but in the flouriſhing Circumſtances of the Church of *England.*

We have had much politick Diſcourſe of the *Lutheran* Churches, *Lutheran* Principles, their Nearneſs to Popery, their Abſurdity, and I know not what, by which, ſome would ſupport their pretended Opinion, that the Church is is danger.

Methinks this is ſo remote to the Queſtion, that no wiſe Men ſhould think it worth their mentioning; for we are not concerned at all in the Doctrine of *Luther*, or in the *Lutheran* Churches, tho' the whole World allows they are all Proteſtants. *Luther* was the Morning-ſtar of the Reformation, and altho', we hope, our Reformation

is

is become more perfect, yet the Oppoſition between the *Lutheraniſm* and *Popery* is ſuch, and in ſuch eſſential Points, that we need never fear returning to Popery, *Via Luther*. But as I have ſaid, *Luther* is out of the Queſtion here, his Majeſty having entred into the Communion, and becoming the legal civil Head, and under Chriſt, Eccleſiaſtick alſo of the Church of *England*, is no longer a *Lutheran*, but a Church of *England* Proteſtant: Nor is it rational to ſuggeſt any Danger to the Church of *England* from *Lutheran* Principles, with which we have no more to do now, than we had with *Calvin* upon the Acceſſion of King *William*.

And having made Mention of that glorious Name, I cannot omit taking Notice, that this very Suggeſtion was begun upon King *William*, at his firſt coming to the Crown; and altho' the King, who was a Catholick Chriſtian, as well as a Proteſtant King, conſtantly communicated with the Church of *England*, yet were the Suggeſtions of bringing in Presbyterianiſm into the Church, carried a very diſobliging Height, even in the Beginning of his Reign, occaſioned by his ready granting the Tolleration, and a Word let fall by the King in his Speech to the Parliament, wherein he hinted the Reaſonableneſs of limiting the Sacramental Teſt Act, to the Perſons againſt whom it was at firſt deſign'd, and not againſt Proteſtant Diſſenters.

And yet to the Day of his Death, the People who raiſed and ſpread thoſe *wicked Inſinuations*, could not charge his Majeſty with one Step to the Injury, or to weaken the Intereſt of the Ch. of *England*, much leſs that could imply a Deſign to overthrow it.

I would hope, the Gentlemen who are forward to ſhew their Zeal for the Church of *England*, would conſider ſeriouſly, of what they can call the Churches Security, and particularly, whether the Church can be ſecured by any Thing, but by healing our Diviſions, and uniting us together under the Protection of a Proteſtant King, that all Party Heats and perſonal Animoſities being laid aſide, we may all joyn to advance the Honour and Intereſt of the King, and of the now glorious *Hanover* Line, that they may again be effectual Defenders of the Proteſtant Church of *England*.

And this leads back to where I began, *viz.* That Nothing but Union among our ſelves can make this Nation terrible abroad, Nothing but Diviſion at home can make the King unhappy, and the Church unſafe.

Certainly, ſome Method may be propoſed to unite us, or elſe our Diſtemper is run ſo far as no Phyſician can cure at preſent, we are biting and devouring one another at ſuch a Rate, as no Man that has any Concern for his Country, can look at without Horror. But ſurely this will not always laſt, the Rage of men muſt abate, or the Miſeries of this Nation are not yet at an End, for the Animoſity is ſo great, that if it goes on, it muſt iſſue in the Ruin of many.

I know ſome ſay, that the Government being happily ſettled in a Poſture too ſure to be ſhaken, now is the Time to tread down its Enemies, in ſuch a Manner, as that they ſhall never lift up their Heads more; and I ſay, be it ſo to thoſe who continue obſtinate in their Oppoſition to the King and his Government: But all Chriſtians deſire the Converſion, rather than the Confuſion

of

of their worſt Enemies. A Town attack'd, is never taken by Storm if it offers to capitulate, even the moſt cruel Perſecutors gave Leave to the Conceſſors to recant and renounce their Errors. If we can by Perſwaſion and Reaſoning prevail upon Men, to come in to acknowledge their Miſtakes, and to teſtifie their Duty to the King and Government, it muſt be allow'd, this is the Chriſtian, the juſt, and the moſt charitable Method.

Many Men, even where their Affection to a Prince does not joyn with the Times, yet when the Prince comes to the Throne, they act as good Subjects and honeſt Men ought to act, they behave peaceably, ſerve faithfully, and at length, the Affection of a good Subject returns, becauſe the Integrity of Principle remains.

There are Thouſands of ſuch Proſelytes to Loyalty, which are well worth gaining, and which may be gain'd in the preſent Circumſtance of Affairs, and theſe are the Men, whoſe uniting with the reſt of their Country, is at this Time ſo neceſſary. No wiſe Prince willingly adds to the Diſaffection of any of his People, or deſires to make any Man diſpair, and he that aſſiſts to reconcile the People of a Nation one to another, and all to their rightful Sovereign, acts the higheſt Part of the bleſſed Peace-maker, and is a true Friend to his Country, and a faithful Servant to the Prince.

On the contrary, dividing the People is deſtroying the Sovereign; nay, it is the worſt ſort of deſtroying him, for it weakens his Intereſt, robs him of his Peace, uncrowns him, tho' it does not dethrone him, for the Hearts of Subjects are the King's beſt Crown; it is a kind of Aſſaſſination

ſſination upon the King, for it ſtabs him in the Vitals of his temporal Felicity, and kills his Satisfaction. Our Sovereign has very happily expreſt it in his Speech to the Parliament, where it is called, *The Bleſſing moſt valued*. A good and wiſe Prince values the Affections of his Subjects above all Happineſs; and doubtleſs, the Bleſſing of a benign, kind and affectionate Prince is the greateſt Felicity of a Country. But how ſhall either of theſe happen to a Nation where Feuds and Animoſities prevail, and where Parties carry on irreconcilable War againg one another, where Union ceaſes, and unnatural Diviſions ſpread among the People.

Nothing can make King and People happy, Church and State ſafe and flouriſhing, but the finding out ſome Method, ſome Ways and Means to unite us one to another; till thss is done, wicked Inſinuations will ſpread, *ſome* will always be depriving the King of his moſt valuable Bleſſing, *the Affection of his People*, and depriving the Subject of his moſt valuable Bleſſing, the Protection and Favour of their Prince.

Nor is the doing Juſtice on Offenders any Breach of this Union: If the publick Juſtice of the Nation, unbyaſs'd by Prejudice, at Perſons, or Paſſion at Parties, find out Men who are really guilty of betraying their Country, every honeſt Man, let him be of what Party ſoever, will give up ſuch Men quietly, and without Reluctance, ſacrificing all the Reſpect and Compaſſion to their Perſons, to the publick Peace of their native Country.

On the other Hand, where evident Guilt does not call for publick Juſtice, thoſe who ſincerely aim at the Safety and Peace of their Country, will

will be very tender how they gratify the Reſentment of Parties to the Oppreſſion of any.

But when this Inquiry after the guilty Perſons is over, (for we muſt look beyond it) what have the People of *Britain* to do then? What's next before 'em but their own Eſtabliſhment? And why ſhall they not then unite in Affection, and without Parties and Animoſities one againſt another?

If there are uneaſy Men to be found, may they not be made eaſie by good Uſage, ſooner than by Violence and Reproach? If they are illegally, and to the publick Injury uneaſy, the Laws muſt be executed with Juſtice, mingled with Moderation and Clemency. But ſure our Breaches are not ſo wide, but gentle Methods may be made Uſe of for reconciling us together, if not, Peace abroad will be of little Uſe, neither can it be advantagious or laſting; for Parties cruſht by Violence, will by Violence ſtrive to reſtore themſelves: And tho' thoſe Attempts will always be to their own Ruin, yet it cannot be without great Diſtractions, Diviſions, Hazard, Expence, and many Cauſes of Sorrow to the Nation.

They that wiſh his Majeſty a flouriſhing Reign, muſt neceſſarily wiſh him a peaceable Reign, and a full, undivided Poſſeſſion of the Hearts of all his People; if this is not added to the Glory of his Crown, he will always feel ſome Abatement of his Satisfaction, and his People will find ſome allay in their Proſperity.

Peace at home will enable us to ſupply the Defects of the Peace abroad, in all the other Parts not here entred upon, and which, this neceſſary Digreſſion, for the preſent, has prevented me ſpeaking to; it will ſtrengthen us to ſuch a De-

gree,

gree, as to make us able to enforce our Treaties, and give us Advantages in farther Negotiations.

It will enrich us by the Proſperity of Commerce, and enable us to check the Encroachments of thoſe Nations who pretend to rival us in Manufactures, or anticipate our Markets, and will put us in a Condition to diſlodge our Enemies from any Part of the World where we think they ought not to ſettle, and to ſettle our ſelves in any Part we pleaſe, without Fear of being diſlodg'd.

By a compleat Union at Home, a chearful ſupporting the Government, an an univerſal Adherence to the Perſon and Poſterity of our King, we ſhall enervate the Projects of thoſe Parties that will otherwiſe grow upon us, we ſhall improve in Naval Power abroad, and in Civil Power at home, be very rich, ſtrong and happy.

FINIS.